606 instruct her to be a good wife; while a stepmother is assumed to have no such desire, and is likely to tell her stepdaughter not to"make so much fuss"over her husband. If the latter were to follow such advice, she would soon be criticized by her husband's parents whose residential hamlet she usually shares. Stepmothers are very common due to the frequency of divorce and the shorter lifespan of women.

606 628 Affinal relatives are expected to come to a person's aid if he becomes involved in a blood feud, particularly if his consanguinal kin are few or weak. Since there is no pattern of individual duelling, even distant kin become involved readily, as a point of honor.

591 Residence of male persons is usually patrilocal-patrilineal, i.e. in the consanguinal line. But if a young bridegroom finds that his own father has little good land to allocate him in his parental hamlet upon his marriage, he may elect to seek better facilities by establishing residence at the bride's patrilocal hamlet. She is usuallyv very happy about this latter residence, for her kin will protect her even if she wrongs her husband (e.g. by taking a lover in subsequent years). Conversely, thehusband tries to avoid such a situation, for reasons of happiness as well as prestige.

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TABLE 7

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A ROSTER OF SECULAR HERBALISTS OF TWO RURAL HAMLETS OF BEGEMDER

1. Explanation of the notations used:

Therapeutic notations:
- Seci: Medhaniyt Seci (provider of unprocessed medicaments)
- Ateci: Medhaniyt Ateci (provider of processed medicaments)
- Kabiy: Medhaniyt Kabiy (painter of processed medicaments)
- Kitabiy: Kitab Kitabiy (amulet maker)

Pharmacological notations:
- i: Ise Korac ("stalk cutter")
- s: Sir Korac ("root digger")
- k: Yi_Medhaniyt Korac ("medicine cutter for the_ailment")

Grade notations:
- A: Medhaniyt Awakiy ("medicine expert")
- *: Herbalist claims Medhaniyt Awakiy title, but is professionally unknown beyond the parish

Ambilineage notations:
- I to IV: ambilineage designation
- T: Amhara tenant farmer

Client notation:
- +: Clients are attracted from beyond the herbalist's own hamlet and immediate environs

For example, the notation "Seci/Ateci:k:I" signifies an herbalist who offers a therapy as either a Medhaniyt Seci or Medhaniyt Ateci, who is also known as a Medhaniyt Korac by virtue of the complex of ingredients used in his therapy, and who is a member of ambilineage I.

*278 *757 [869] his mentor restricted her professional services to clients from outside the parish.

Among the herbalist therapies practiced in Tikurmidir and Lemmariet, there are, predictably, those which provide successful cures or satisfactory palliatives for certain non-serious ailments (particularly, wosfat, kosow, kurtimat, and wuwgat). Since this repertoire of disease-name specialties is found in most Amhara hamlets, a client generally need go no farther than a hamlet herbalist for treatment. Beyond these, the assortment of therapies *[192] practiced in any hamlet is adventitious; for example, epidemiologically, pharmacologically, and prognostically it is no more explicable for kuntina (leprosy) and koruba (fatal pox) therapies to be practiced in Tikurmidir than for timan anise (elephantiasis) or weresiyn (typhus) to be found in their stead. The character of a particular assortment oftherapies within a region has important professional consequences for the herbalists of this area. [628] Where an herbalist practices a therapy in the absence of redundant therapies, he can expect to attract clients from the entire area of his exclusive practice, even though his therapy may be a weak one. Thus, the contrast between a therapy serving only clients of the herbalist's hamlet and a therapy serving a wider population cannot always be explained on the basis of differences of healing power, but in many cases may also depend upon whether

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redundant therapies are present or absent in the surrounding area.

Of the forty-six therapies which are practiced in Tikurmidir and Lemmariet, thirty-five (75%) attract clients only from the area of the herbalist's hamlet, as a result of redundancy within the hamlet itself or its environs. Of the eleven therapies of Tikurmidir and Lemmariet which attract clients from Kidus Yowhannis parish and its environs, ten are practiced in the absence of redundant therapies within this area; none of the ten is characterized by conspicuous therapeutic success. One of these, Mers:Ateci:k*&IV, is professionally known even beyond the parish's environs. Owing to the "heterogeneous" nature of the mers pathogen, the treatment of mers (poisoning beginning with nausea and vomiting and leading to madness, ibidet) is generally considered curable only by a debtera, and herbalist remedies are infrequent (see Table 1). In the case of this therapy, the herbalist's notoriety has been supported in part by the tendency of potential clients to associate his therapy with the practice of powerful debteras. This therapy's repute is further served, technically, by the presence of a pharmacologically complex memelesa. But here, again, the therapy is anamalous; for, according to the logic of Amhara medicine, a therapy against mers must consist of a memelesa alone. In such therapies,

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• 628 stands in the place that the primary medicine would in any other internally administered herbalist therapy.

The remaining therapy attracting clients from beyond the hamlet is Nikersa:kitabiy:A:I, and is the hamlet's best example of a therapy of mädhaniyt awakiy grade. As an "amulet therapy", it has no mämälsa, nor does it allow for a diagnosis to the administration of the therapy. The grading of such therapies is dependent upon criteria of efficacity and professional reputation; this nikersa therapy is regarded as relatively effective and it attracts clients from all Woggera, in spite of the presence of redundant therapies within this area.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SECULAR HEALERS IN URBAN BEGEMDER

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[369] Less than 5% of the province's people are classified "urban" by Government census.[16] Half of these townfolk live in Gondar, the provincial capital. Although Gondar is the administrative, ecclesiastical, and commercial center of Begemder, its demographic and social character-

[16] 56,000 out of a total of 1.24 million (EAS1965: 23-24).